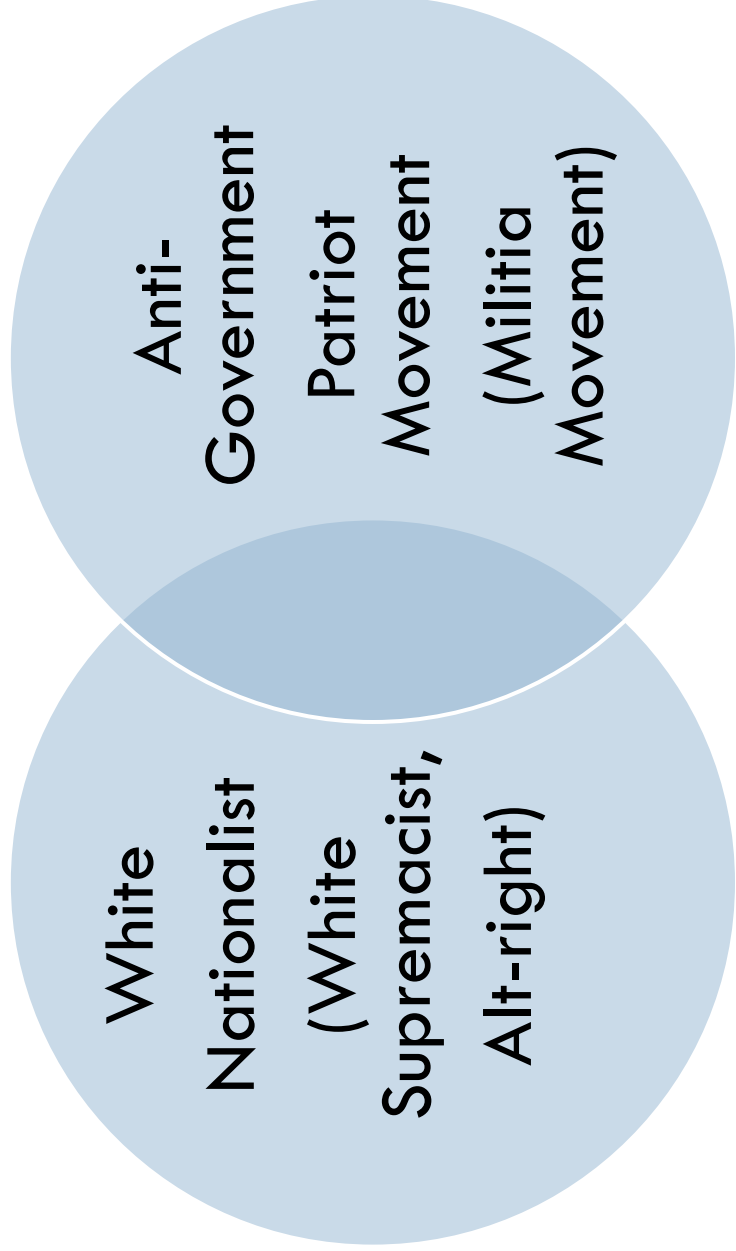


# THE MOBILIZATION OF HATE: THE WHITE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

FORDING AND SCHRAM. 2020. "THE RISE OF THE MODERN WHITE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT." CHAPTERS 3-4 OF *HARD WHITE: THE MAINSTREAMING OF RACISM IN AMERICAN POLITICS*.

# Understanding White Nationalist Groups as a Social Movement

- Right-wing extremism in the U.S.



# The White Nationalist Movement

- What is the white nationalist movement?
- What explains variation in white nationalist group mobilization?
  - ▣ Over time
  - ▣ Across states/counties

# “White Nationalist” vs. “White Supremacist”

- **White Nationalist** - a broad set of groups who are set apart from other extremist groups on the far right by the fact that their agenda is largely dictated by their concern with protecting what they believe to be a threatened white racial identity.
- **White Supremacist** - These groups exist to promote the interests of the white race, which they believe is set apart from other races for a variety of reasons.

# White Supremacist Ideology (The National Alliance)

Our world is hierarchical. Each of us is a member of the Aryan (or European) race, which, like the other races, developed its special characteristics over many thousands of years during which natural selection not only adapted it to its environment but also advanced it along its evolutionary path. Those races which evolved in the more demanding environment of the North, where surviving a winter required planning and self-discipline, advanced more rapidly in the development of the higher mental faculties—including the abilities to conceptualize, to solve problems, to plan for the future, and to postpone gratification—than those which remained in the relatively unvarying climate of the tropics. Consequently, the races vary today in their capabilities to build and to sustain a civilized society and, more generally, in their abilities to lend a conscious hand to Nature in the task of evolution.<sup>10</sup>

# White "Separatism"

- Many groups refer to whites as members of an "Aryan" race and tend to identify whites in the United States as members of a larger white nation that extends to the Anglo Saxon countries of Western Europe.
- Some groups claim to want nothing more than separation from other races and the establishment of an all-white ethnostate, or at the very least homogenous white institutions, including schools, government, and all- white residential communities

# White "Separatism" and "Pioneer Little Europe" (PLE)

- Since the 1970s, some white supremacists have tried to create all-white, like-minded communities
- The Northwest Territorial Imperative
- PLE's

- La Crescenta, CA

- Elohim City, OK

- Leith, ND

North Dakota mayor: We must scrap city council to thwart white supremacist takeover

BY LISA GUTTERREZ

JUNE 25, 2018 04:23 PM



In this Aug. 26, 2013, photo Craig Cobb stands in an empty lot he owns on Main Street in Leith, N.D., where he envisions a park \_ perhaps with a swimming pool \_ dedicated to the late neo-Nazi and white supremacist activist William L. Pierce. Cobb, 61, a self-described white supremacist, has purchased about a dozen lots in Leith and over the past year he has invited fellow white supremacists to move there and help him to transform the town of 16 people into a white enclave. KEVIN CEDERSTROM / ASSOCIATED PRESS

# Defining the White Nationalist Movement

- White Supremacist groups
  - The Klan
  - Neo-Nazi
  - Skinheads
  - Christian Identity
- “Other” White Nationalist groups



# Data: SPLC “hate group” data

- Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) - Hate group – An organization whose actions are at least partly motivated by “beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics.” (SPLC)
- SPLC counts “active” hate groups only
  - criminal acts, marches, rallies, speeches, meetings, leafletting or publishing.

# Hate Crimes vs. Hate Groups

- Hate crime - “**criminal** offense against a person or property motivated in whole or in part by an offender’s bias against a race, religion, disability, ethnic origin or sexual orientation.”
- Hate group – An organization whose actions are at least partly motivated by “beliefs or practices that attack or malign an entire class of people, typically for their immutable characteristics.”  
(SPLC)

# The Klan

## The “Brotherhood of Klans”



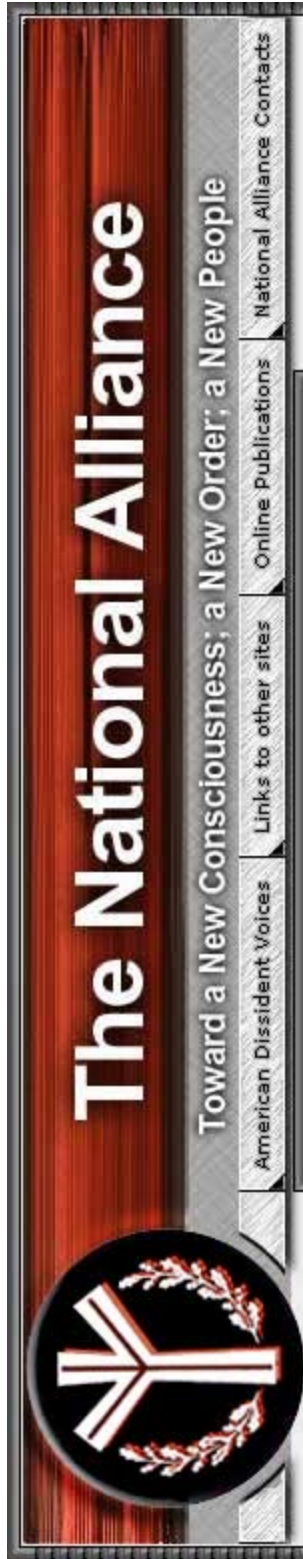
# The Klan

## The “Imperial Klans of America”



**“If you are not of the White race, this web site is not for the likes of YOU! We reserve the right of free speech to state our views whether our enemies like it or not. The IKA hates: Muds, spics, kikes and niggers. This is our God given right! In no way do we advocate violence.”**

# Neo-Nazi's





# William Pierce and "The Turner Diaries"



# Skinheads

## Hammerskin Nation



# Christian Identity



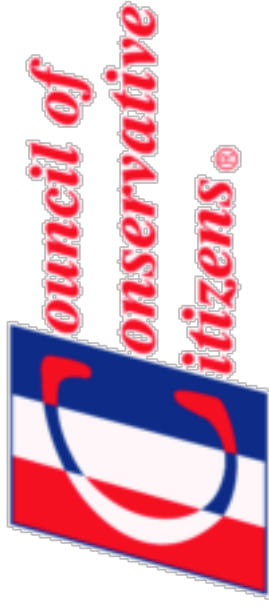
**“Kingdom Identity Ministries is a *Politically Incorrect* Christian Identity outreach ministry to God’s chosen race (true Israel, the White, European peoples). “**



# Defining the White Nationalist Movement

- White Supremacist groups
  - The Klan
  - Neo-Nazi
  - Skinheads
  - Christian Identity
- “Other” White Nationalist groups

# “Other” White Nationalist Groups



## NAAWP

“Are you of Anglo descent? Are you tired of being treated differently because of your race? Do you think affirmative action should support white males? If the answer to any of these questions is yes, then NAAWP is for you.”

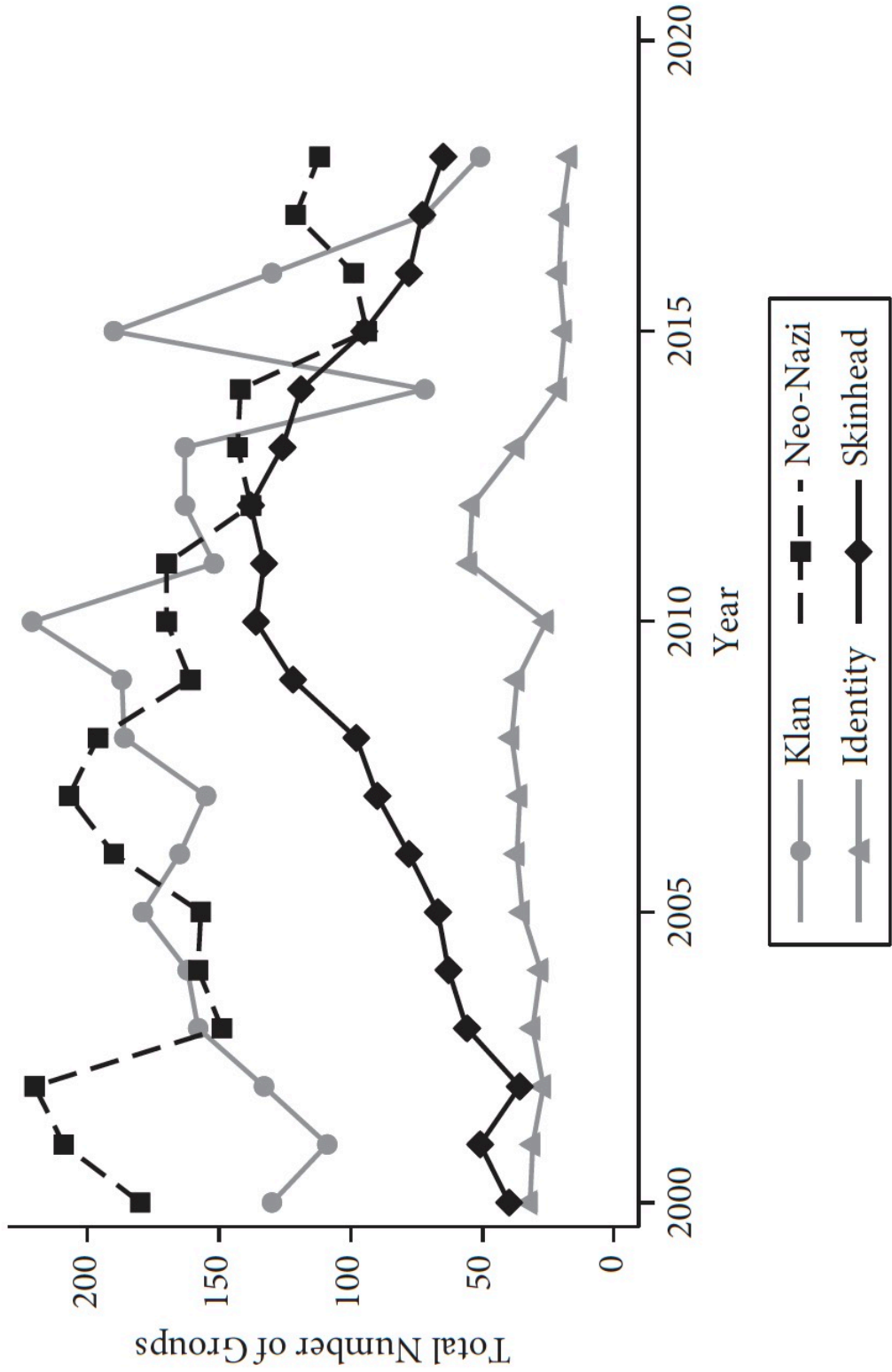
## Stormfront

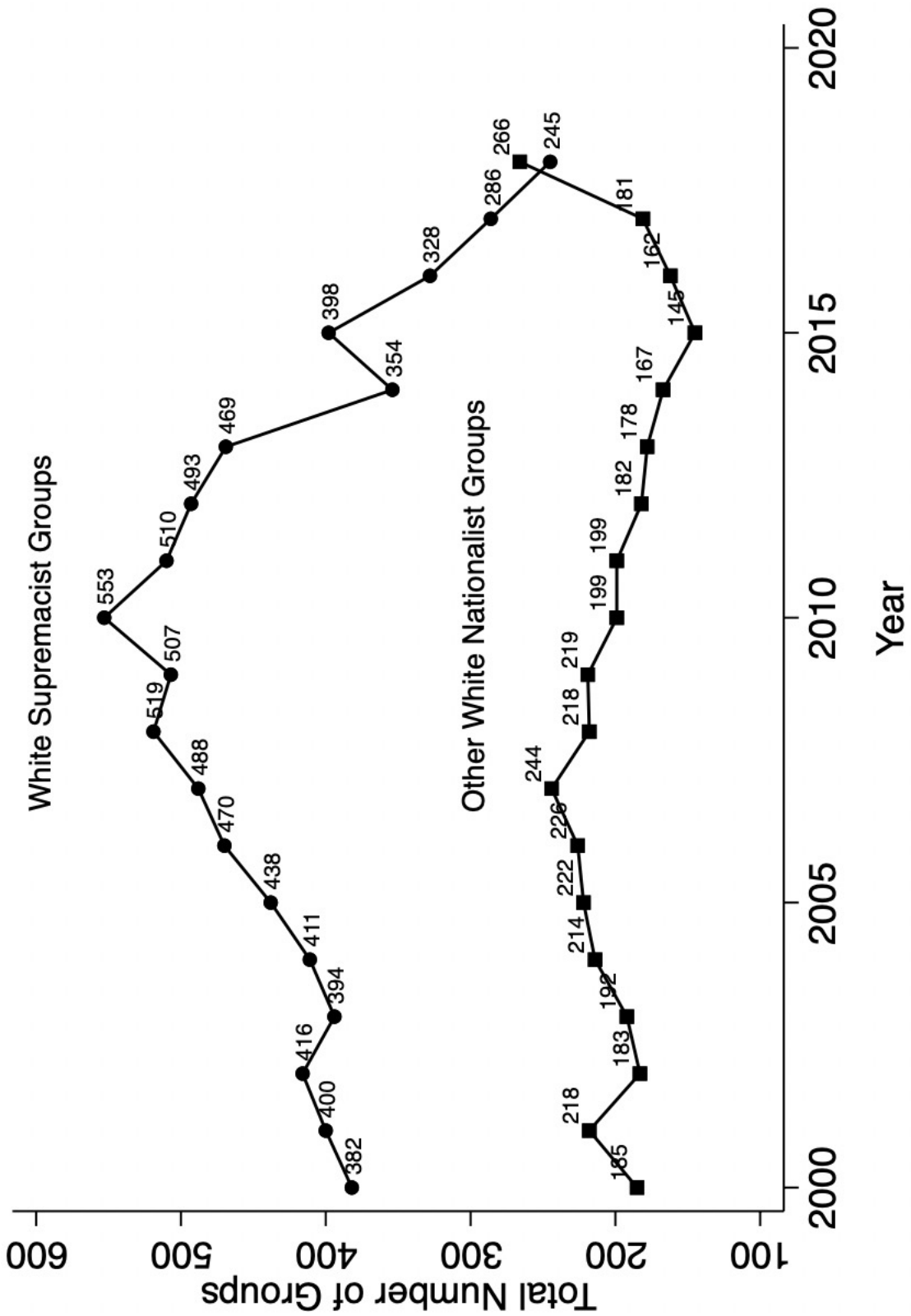


# League of the South ("Neo-Confederate")



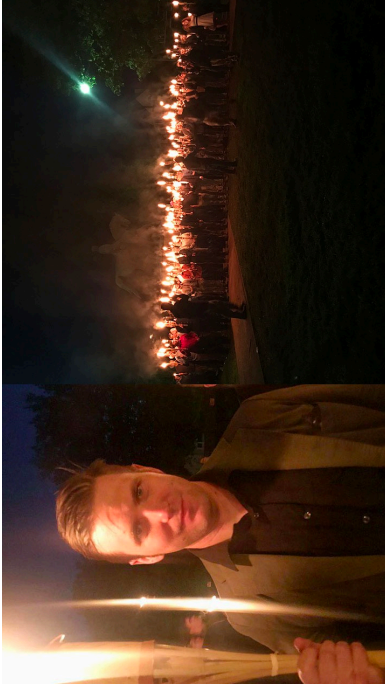
# 58 HARD WHITE





# The Rise of the “Alt-Right”

## □ Richard Spencer - [National Policy Institute](#)



Unite  
The  
Right  
Rally

“What blocks our progress is the *memé* that has been carefully implanted in White people’s minds over the course of decades of programming, from *Mississippi Burning* to *Lee Daniel’s The Butler*—that any kind of positive racial feeling among Whites is inherently evil and stupid and derives solely from bigotry and resentment. And that the political and social advancement of non-Whites is inherently moral and wonderful.”

– *National Policy Institute column, September 2013*



## News

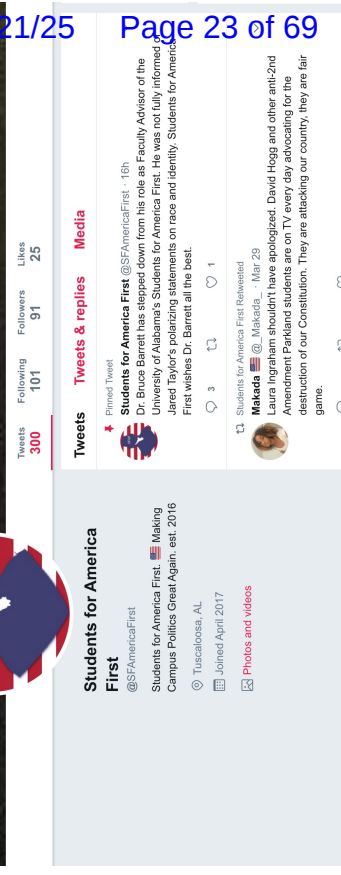
# White nationalist Jared Taylor invited to University of Alabama by student group

Updated Mar 06, 2019; Posted Mar 29, 2018

Students for America First



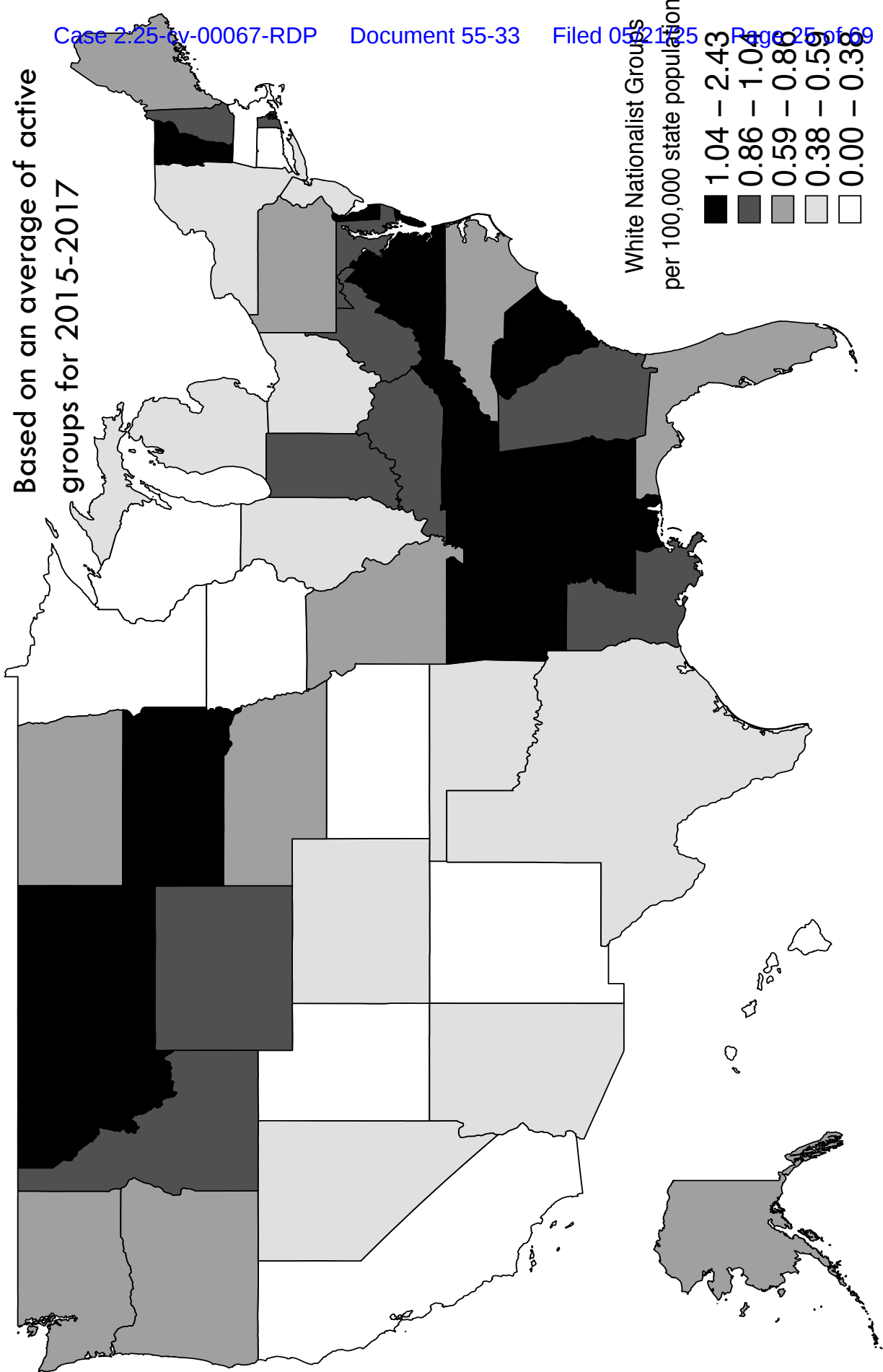
In a March 22, 2015 file photo, U.S. writer Jared Taylor, author of the book "White Identity" speaks during the International Russian Conservative Forum in St. Petersburg, Russia. (AP Photo/Dmitry Lovetsky, File)



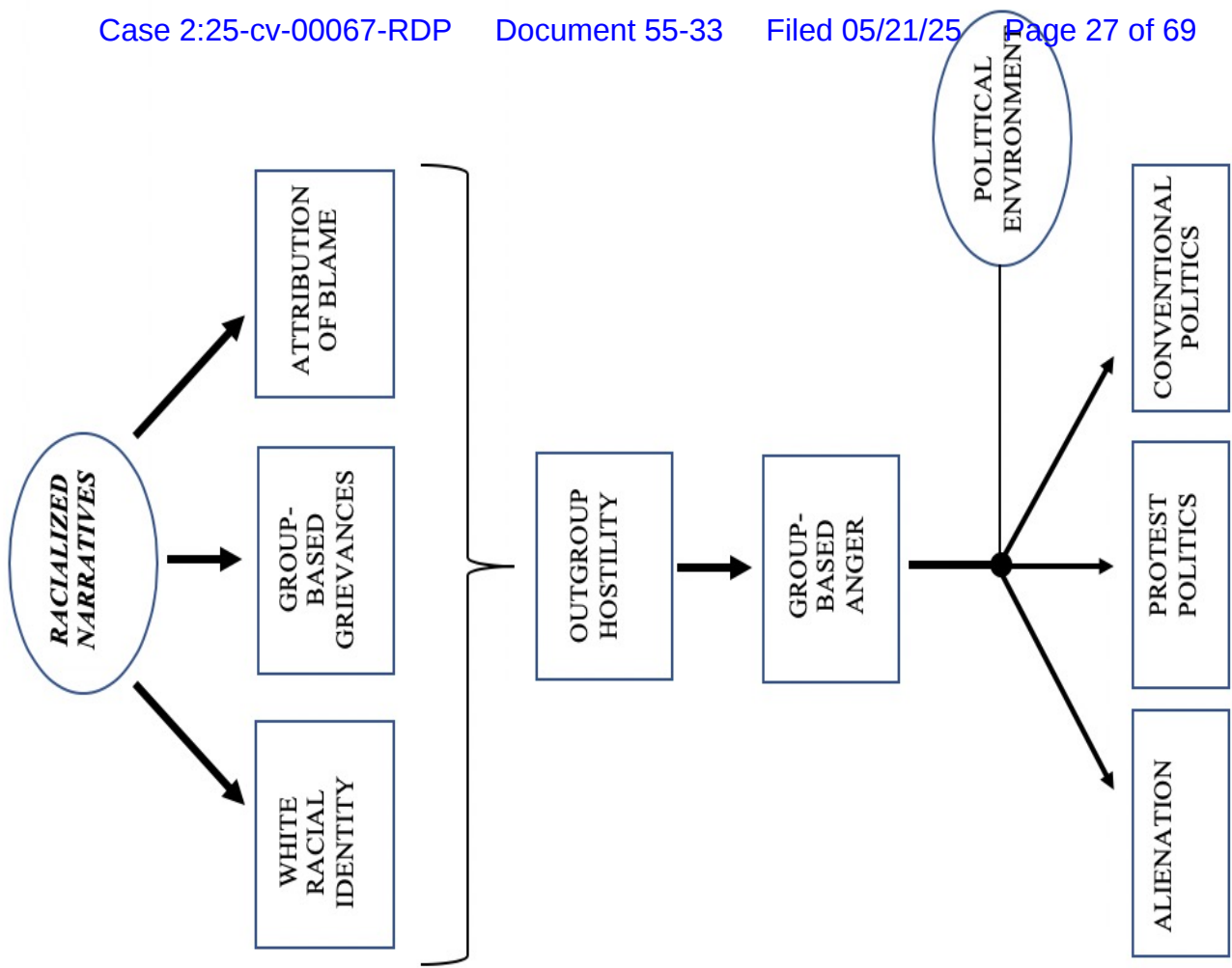
# The Proud Boys







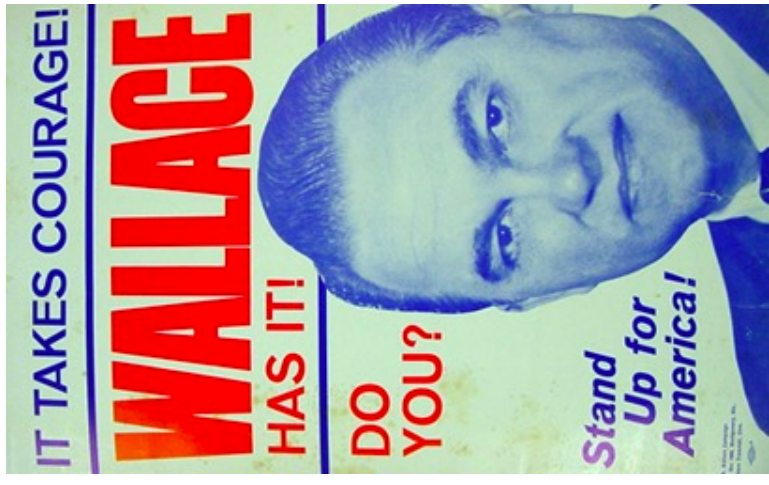
# What Explains the Long-term Trends in White Nationalist Movement Mobilization?



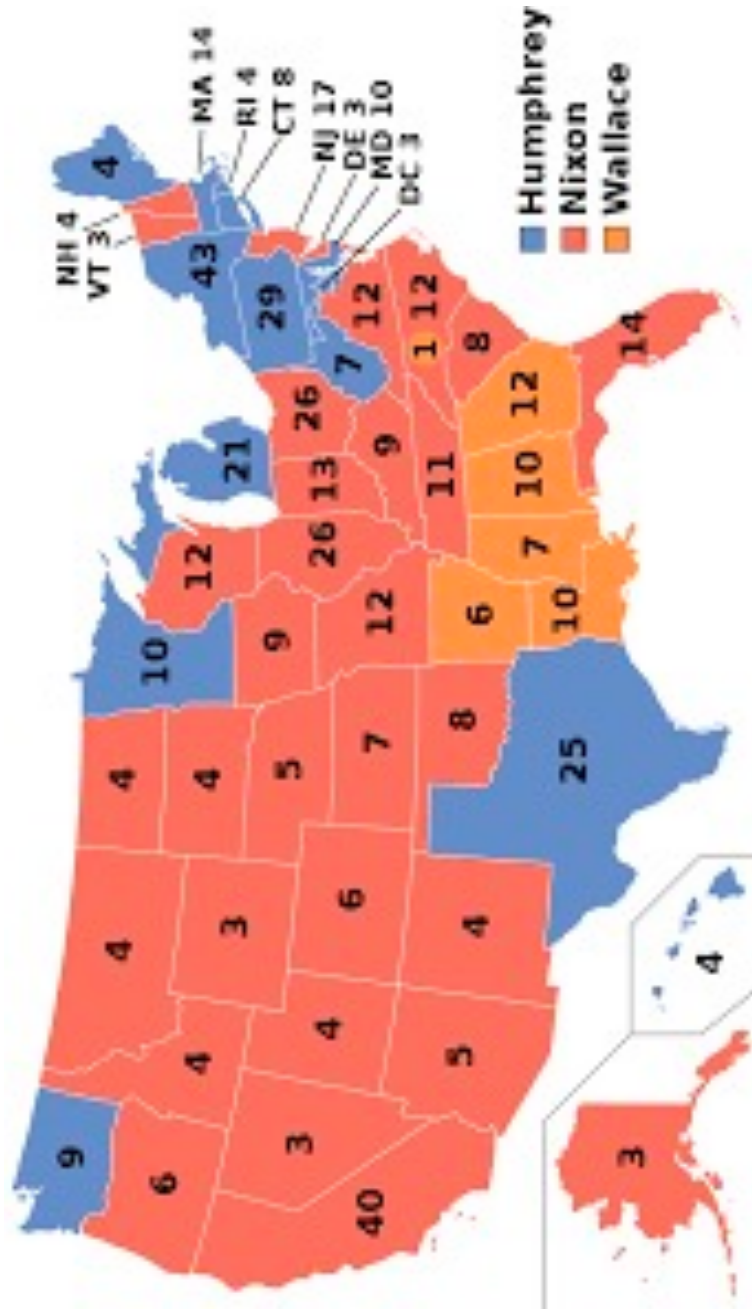
## Understanding Racially Motivated Political Behavior: A Theoretical Framework

# The White Nationalist Movement as a Countermovement

- ❑ Civil rights movement success
- ❑ Rejection of white nationalists from Republican Party
- ❑ After 1972, conventional politics seen as futile

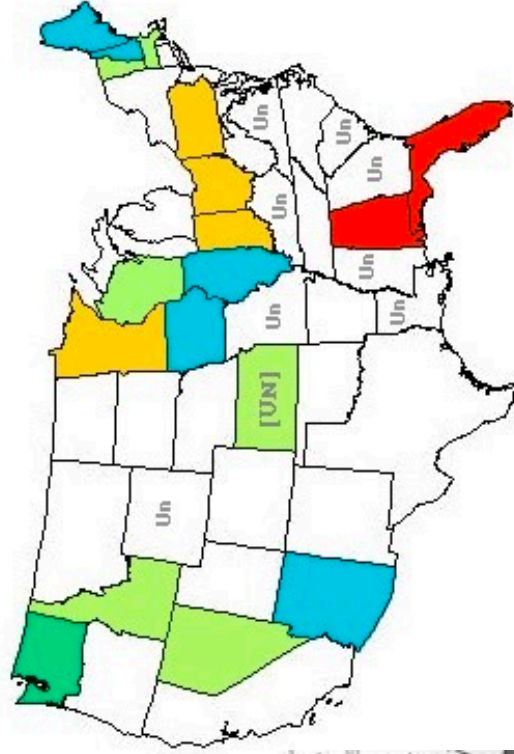


# 1968 Presidential Election



# 1972 Presidential Primaries

DEMOCRATS 1972  
AFTER OHIO MAY 2



UNCOMMITTED\* GAINED MORE VOTES THAN TOP CANDIDATE, BUT CLEAR LEADER EXISTED AMONG NAMED CANDIDATES

# White Nationalist Framing Strategies “Racialized Political Narratives”



Table 3.1 Varieties of Racialized Political Narratives Used by White Nationalist Groups Circa 2012

Racialized Threat Narratives	Representative Quote
Demographic	<p>Our own Government Controlled media has said that the White Race is about to become extinct. (Rebel Brigade Knights of the KKK)</p> <p>Forced integration is deliberate and malicious genocide, particularly for a People like the White race, who are now a small minority in the world. (Aryan Nations 88)</p>
Cultural	<p>Since the fifties, minorities and feminists have been struggling to unseat white males and dismantle their culture; and they've executed the rout virtually unopposed, displaying the most frenzied and extensive example of bloodless cultural conquest in history. (White Aryan Resistance)</p>
Economic (blacks)	<p>"BLACKS" ARE CLIMBING the ladder of corporate America on the genes of their white ancestors, as Marxian Jews' affirmative-action quotas force whites to elevate the Negroid gene pool throughout whites' civilization. (White Aryan Resistance)</p>
Economic (Latinx)	<p>The Government is allowing all these illegal immigrants into our nation. While true Americans are having a hard time finding a job. The Government's pockets are getting fat off of cheap labor. America's unemployment rate is at an all time high; but our Government still refuses to build a Wall across our borders. (Rebel Brigade Knights of the KKK)</p>



### Security (blacks)

Out of the 35.3 percent of Whites with aids I can see that half of that percentage (if not close to all) came from blacks males raping white women. The studies show there is no case where White Males Rape Black women ... (White Brothers)

### Security (Latinx)

DID YOU KNOW THAT ILLEGAL ALIENS KILL 12 AMERICANS EVERY DAY THATS 4,380 PER YEAR. ALSO 8 AMERICAN CHILDREN ARE SEXUALLY ABUSED BY ILLEGALS EVERY DAY THATS 2,920 PER YEAR. (Rebel Brigade Knights of the KKK)

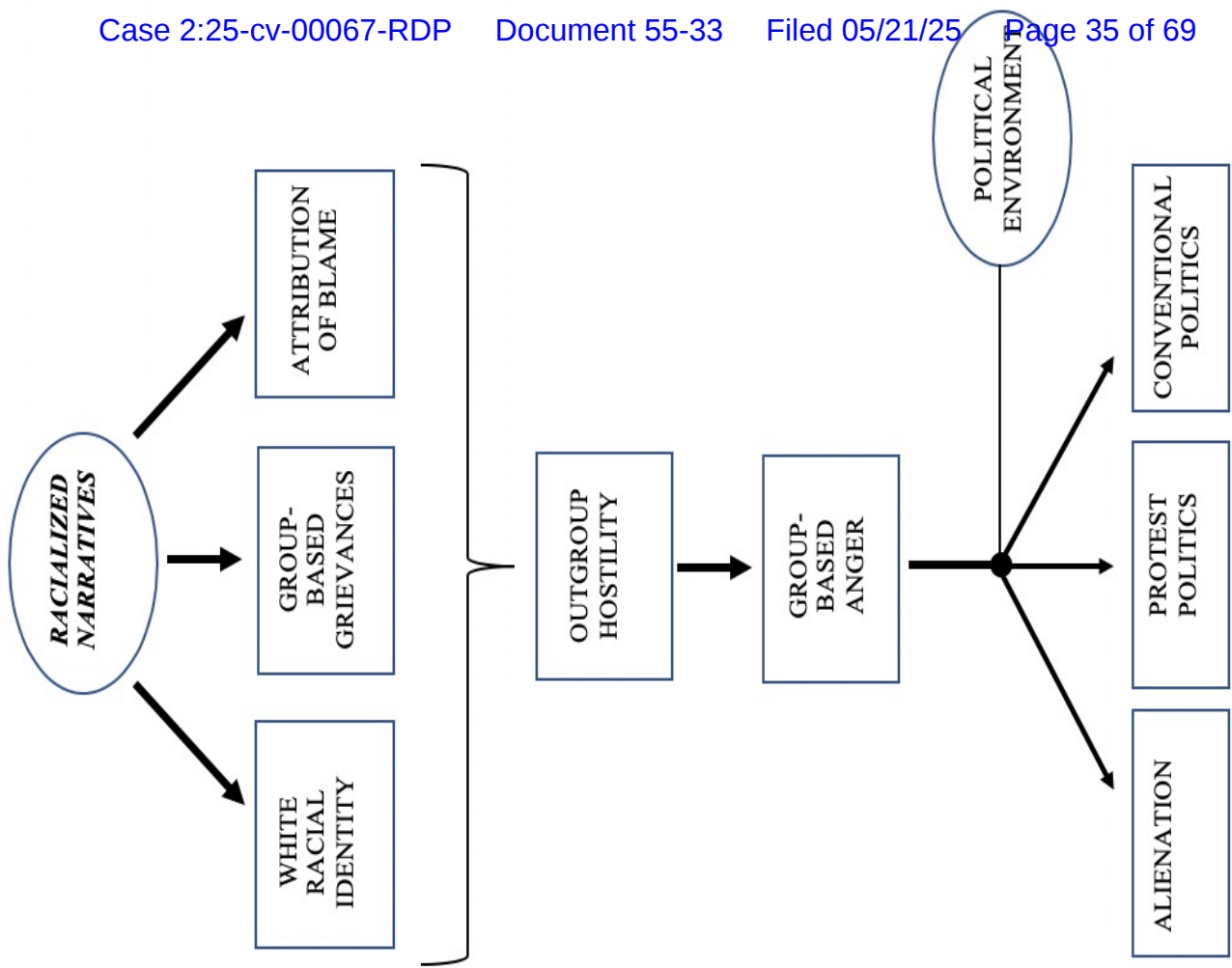
### Political

Every effort to wrest from White Men the management of its affairs in order to transfer it to the control of blacks or any other color, or to permit them to share in its control, is . . . a violation of divinely established laws. (True Invisible Empire Traditionalist American Knights of the KKK)

The Aryan Nations Knights was never intended to be a traditional klan organization which pays homage to or honors the current perverted American constitution, it's now decadent flag or the depraved governmental body full of Jews, Negros, Hispanics and sell out White traitors. (Aryan Nations Nights)

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# The Obama Effect and the Mobilization of the White Nationalist Movement



## Understanding Racially Motivated Political Behavior: A Theoretical Framework

# Anecdotal Evidence - the “Obama Backlash”

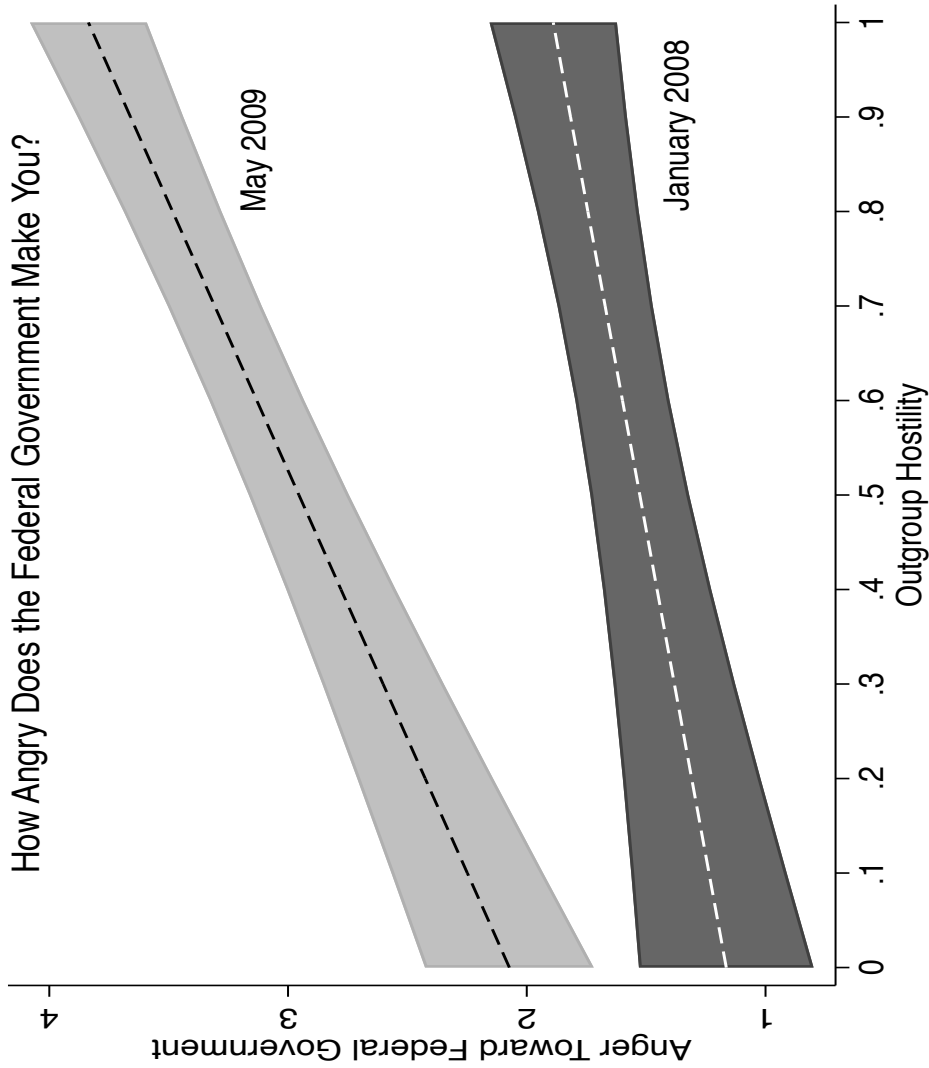


Obama is a “visual aid” for the recruitment of white supremacists. (David Duke)

Stormfront’s website received so much traffic on the day after Obama was elected in 2008 that it had to shut down.

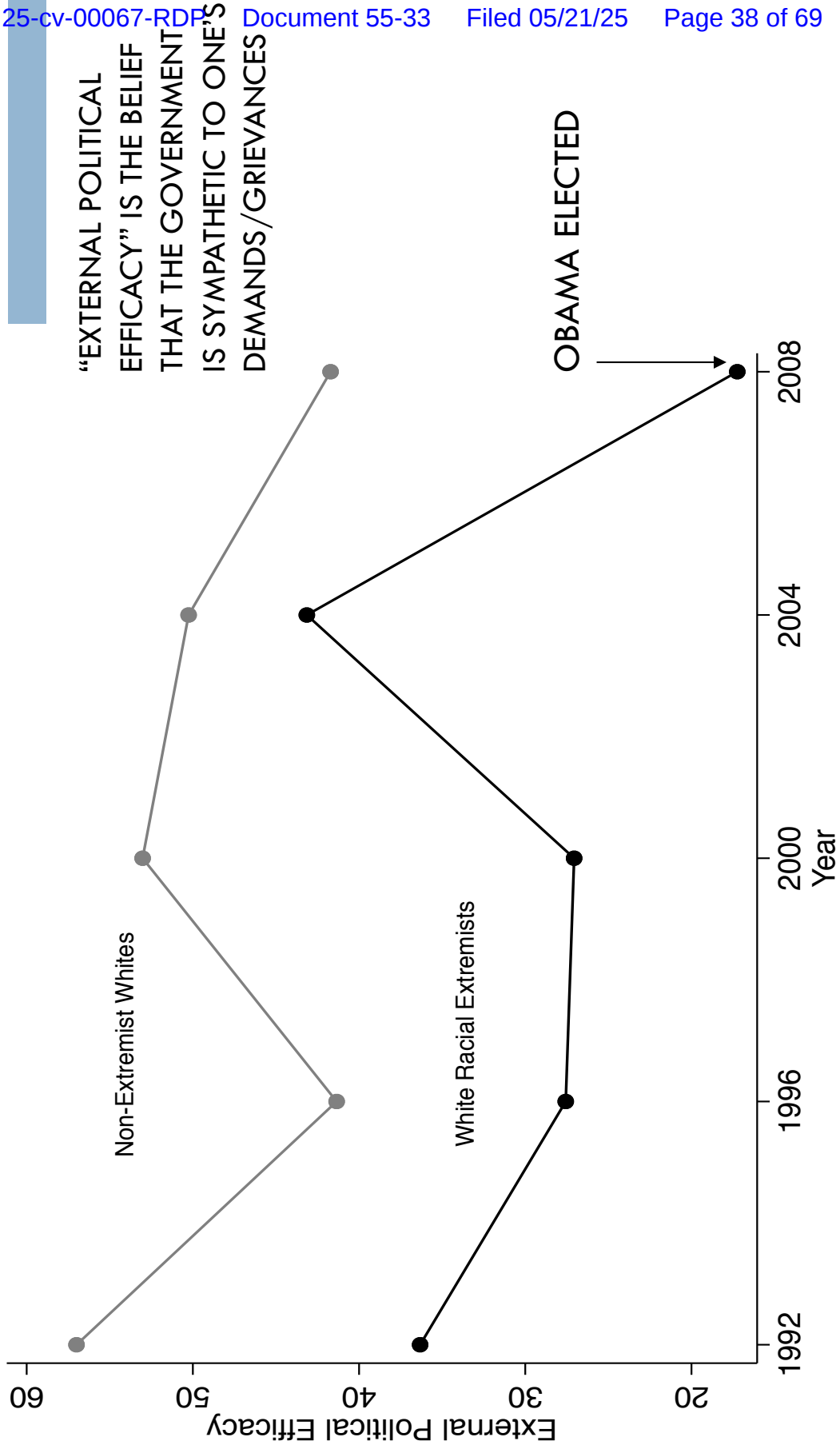
**Stormfront**





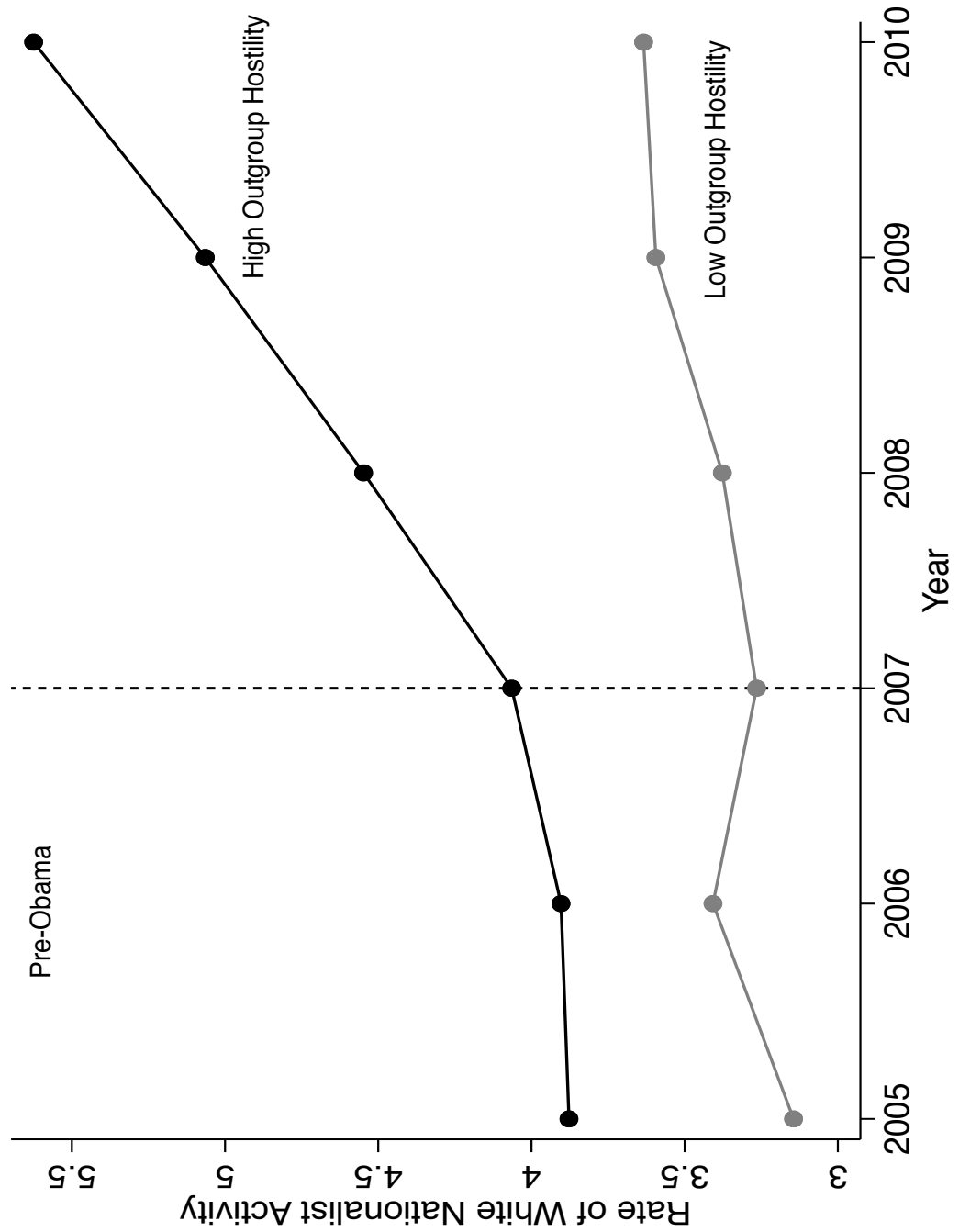
This graph displays the predicted level of anger toward the federal government by an individual's level of outgroup hostility (based on survey items measuring attitudes toward Blacks, Latinx immigrants and Muslims). The sample includes white adults only and the data were measured at two points in time – prior to and after the election of Barack Obama.

# EXTERNAL POLITICAL EFFICACY AMONG WHITE RACIAL EXTREMISTS AND NON-EXTREMISTS



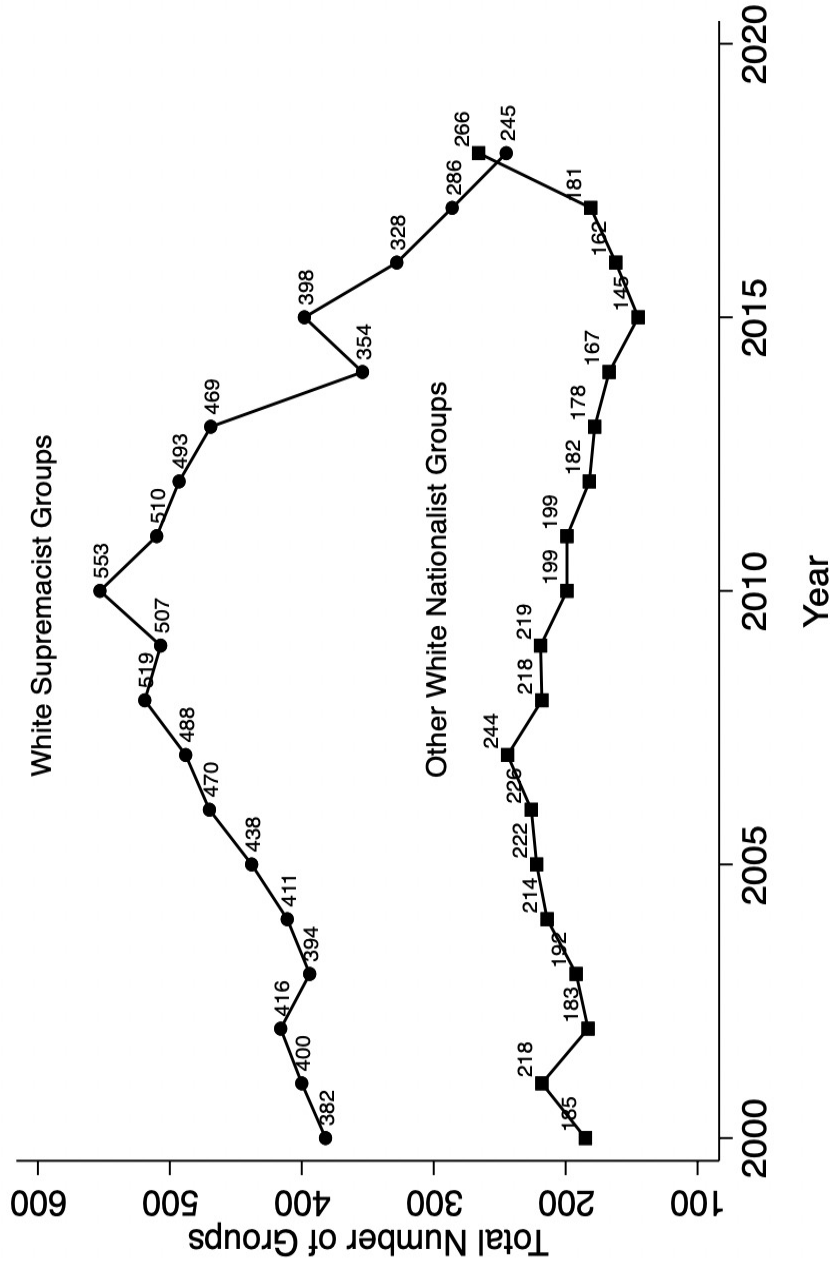
“EXTERNAL POLITICAL EFFICACY” IS THE BELIEF THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS SYMPATHETIC TO ONE’S DEMANDS/GRIEVANCES

## WHITE NATIONALIST GROUP ACTIVITY BY STATES WHERE CITIZEN OUTGROUP HOSTILITY IS HIGH VS. LOW



OUTGROUP HOSTILITY  
IS DEFINED AS EXPRESSED  
HOSTILITY TOWARD  
BLACKS, LATINX  
IMMIGRANTS  
AND MUSLIMS AND IS  
MEASURED BASED ON  
SURVEY DATA FROM  
EACH STATE

**If the election of Obama led to an increase WNM activity, how can we explain trends in movement activity since 2010?**





# The Mainstreaming of the White Nationalist Movement

# A Shift in Tactics

- The debate over tactics - conventional vs. unconventional
- David Duke - from Klansman to Congressman?
  - ▣ Duke has failed in every race for Congress, but he did serve a term in the Louisiana House of Representatives from 1989-92



# The American Freedom Party

- Founded as American Third Position Party in 2010 (CA)



William Johnson



'White rights activist,' run for mayor in Pa.

Steve Mccarsky Feb 27, 2015 0



Sean Donahue, who plans to run for Hazleton mayor in the next election on the American Freedom Party ticket as a write-in candidate, stands in front of the Hazleton City Hall.



# The American Freedom Party

- William Johnson video address to supporters in 2010:
  - “We ... embrace principles that will secure the existence of our people and a future for our children”
- David Lane’s “14 Words”:
  - “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”

# The Tea Party Movement

## A Timeline

- 2008 Republican primaries – Ron Paul
- February 19, 2009 – Rick Santelli rant
- February 27, 2009 – Nationwide Chicago Tea Party protests – 40 cities
- April 15, 2009 – 750 cities, >1 / 2 million
- September 12, 2009 – Taxpayer march on Washington
- July 2010 – Michelle Bachman (Tea Party Caucus)
- January 2015 – Tim Huelskamp (Tea Party Caucus)



# Tea Party Protests

## □ Early 2009 – “Send a tea bag to Congress”



A hazardous materials team works Friday at Radanovich's Modesto office. About 20 people were evacuated. (Bart Ah You / The Modesto Bee)

# Tea Party Protests

- Early 2009 – “Porkulus” protests
- Seattle (2/16/2009)





[illegible]

# Tea Party Voters and Race

## □ Anecdotal





# Tea Party Voters and Race

## □ Anecdotal



# Tea Party Movement Activists and the White Supremacist Movement

- By 2010, [reports began to surface](#) claiming a link between white supremacist movement members/activists and the Tea Party.
- 2010 Poll: About 61 percent of tea party opponents say racism has a lot to do with the movement, a view held by just 7 percent of tea party supporters. ([Washington Post](#))

# Tea Party Voters and Racial Resentment

# The Tea Party Movement

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# Tea Party Protests

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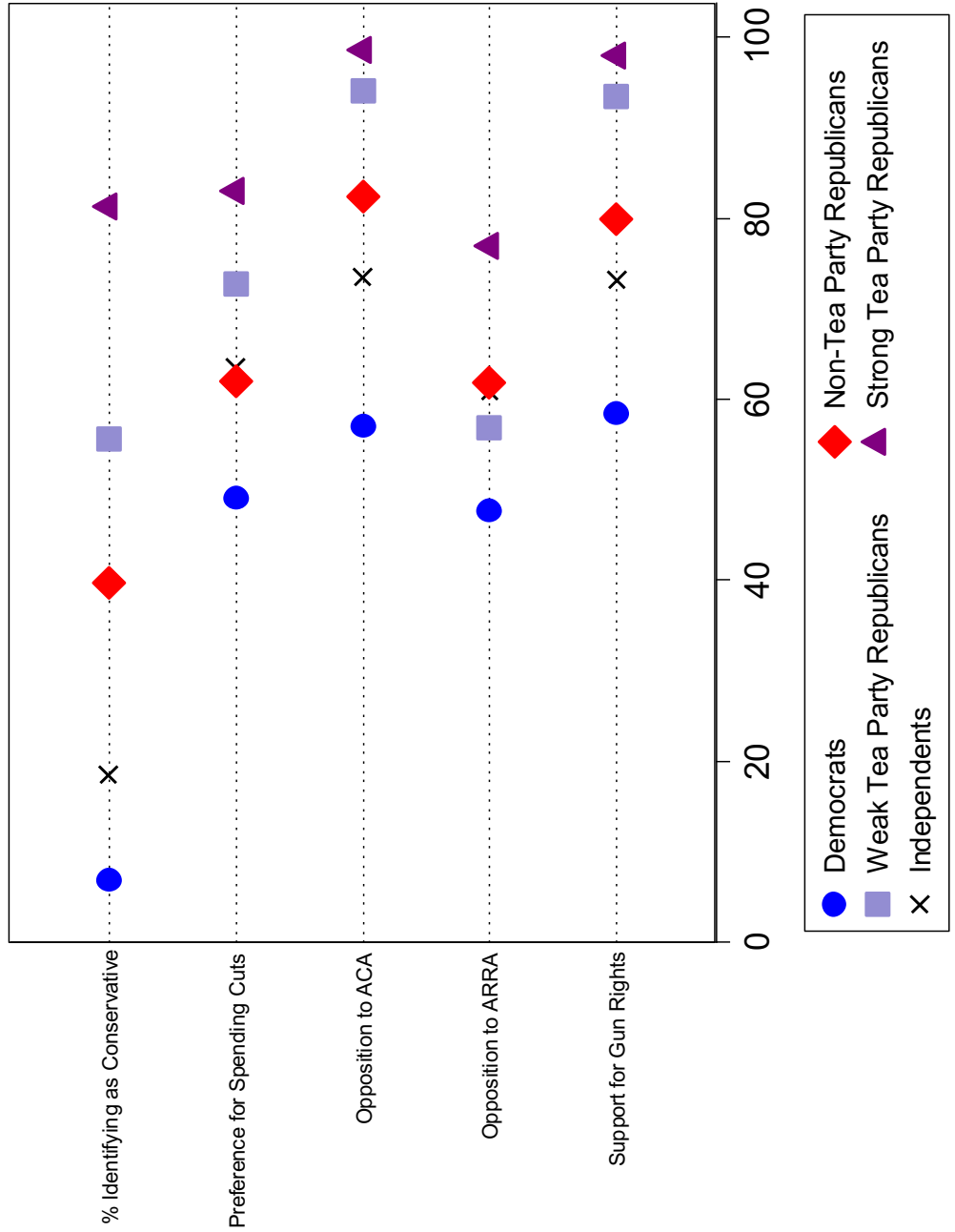
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# Political Entrepreneurs and the Tea Party Movement

- Political commentators – e.g. Glenn Beck
- National advocacy groups
  - Freedom Works (origin 2004)
  - Prosperity for America (origin 2004)
  - Tea Party Express (summer 2009)
  - Tea Party Patriots (March 2009)
  - Hundreds of local/grass-roots organizations
- Candidates/elected officials

# Tea Party Voters

(2010 CCES)





# Tea Party Voters and Race

## □ Anecdotal





# Tea Party Voters and Race

## □ Anecdotal



# Tea Party Voters and Race

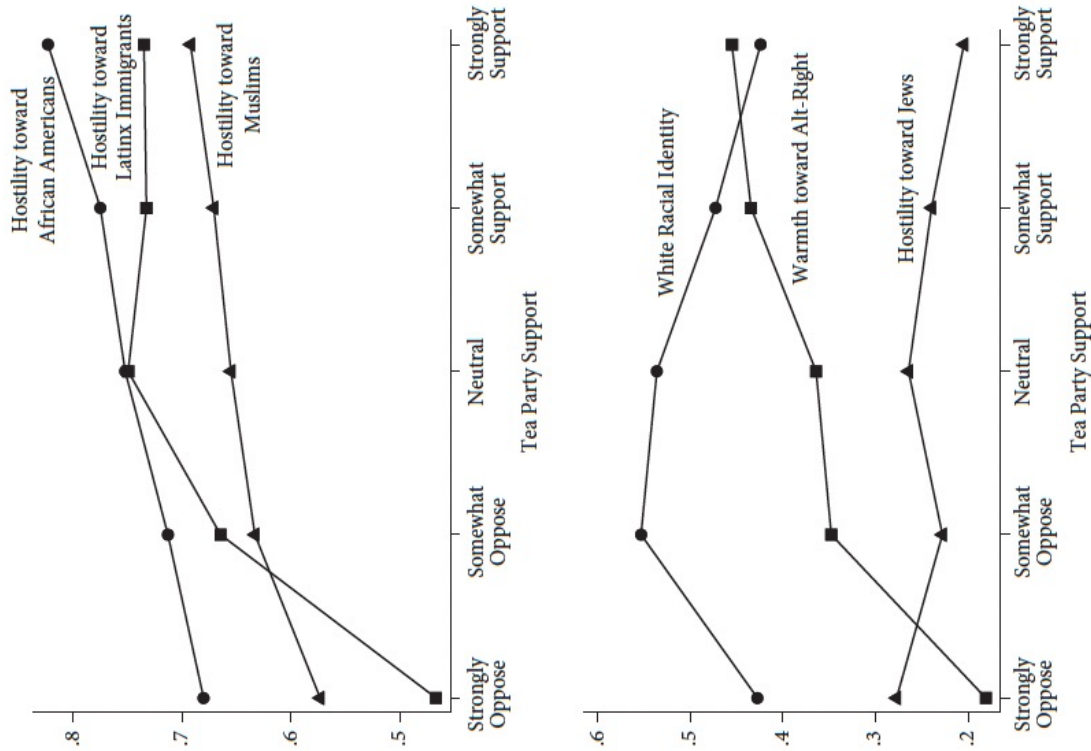
## □ Anecdotal



# Tea Party Movement Activists and the White Supremacist Movement

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- 2010 Poll: About 61 percent of tea party opponents say racism has a lot to do with the movement, a view held by just 7 percent of tea party supporters. ([Washington Post](#))

# Tea Party Voters and Outgroup Hostility



**Figure 4.1 Racial attitudes among Republican identifiers by Tea Party support, 2011**

*Note:* The data for this analysis are taken from the VOTER Survey. All variables are measured in 2011, with the exception of warmth toward the alt-right, which is measured in 2016. The two panels present the predicted level of each racial attitude based on a regression model that controls for party identification, ideology, age, gender, education level, and family income. Predictions were computed by holding each of these control variables constant at the mean value. The sample for the regression includes whites who identified as “Republican.”

# From Stormfront (anonymous white nationalist):

I support the Tea Party because they actively advance some core ideals such as Reducing the size of the Federal Government, Reduced Federal spending, Adhere to the Constitution, etc. . . . The (National Socialist Movement) is not seriously engaged in any activity that has any chance of making meaningful change and, in fact, has become the preferred standard for “Whacko Extremist” whenever the subject of race comes up. Unless we can integrate the many groups who have similar goals, the browning/loss of America will continue unabated.



# From Stormfront (anonymous white nationalist):

I support the stated ideals of the Tea Party movement. Like any movement (including ours) it can be watered down or sidelined. We need to be more inclusive of like-minded groups in order to achieve any level of success. Armed conflict is an immediate fail. We are currently marginalized as radical fringe when, in fact, the majority of Americans believe most of what we know to be the truth. We have been demonized by the mainstream to the point that people won't even consider the message because of the messenger. The magic can only occur when we can both remain true to our beliefs and also become the mainstream.



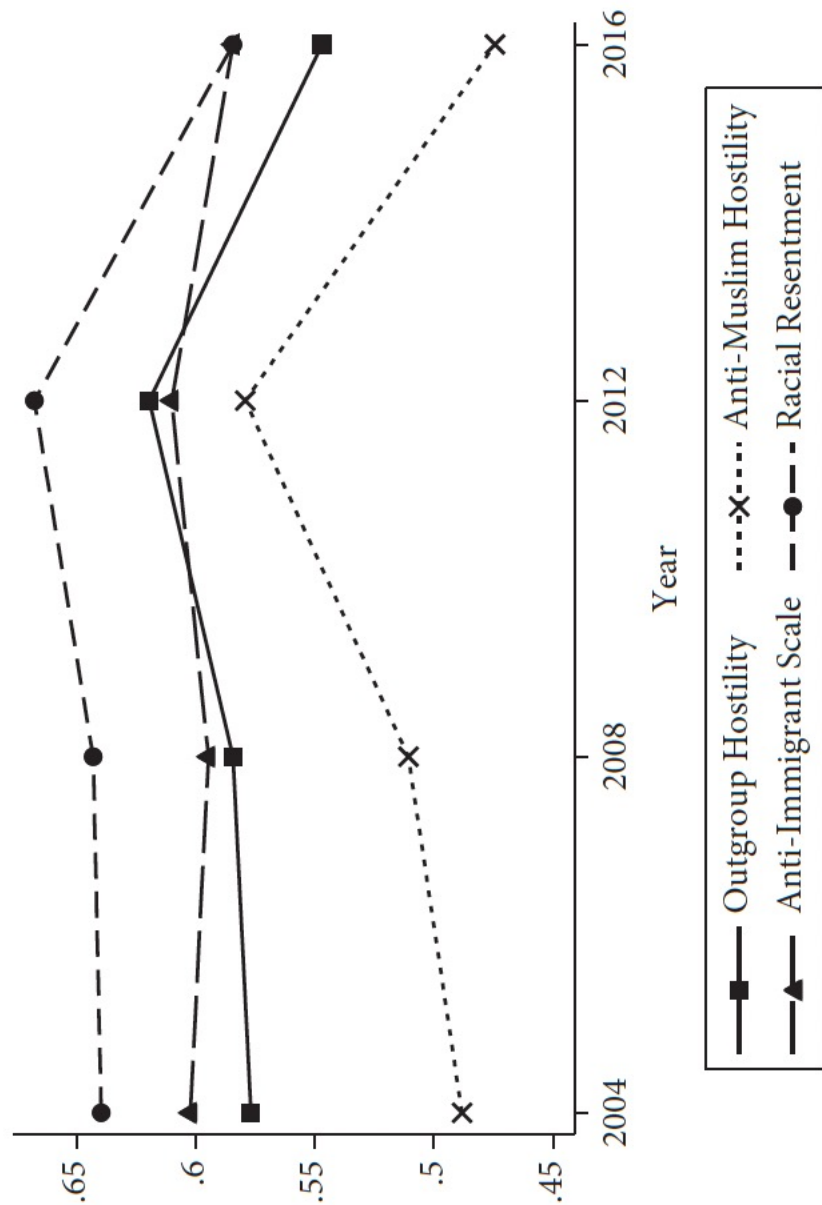
Richard Spencer and  
the Rebranding of  
White Nationalism

The “Overton Window  
of Political  
Possibilities”



# Has it worked?

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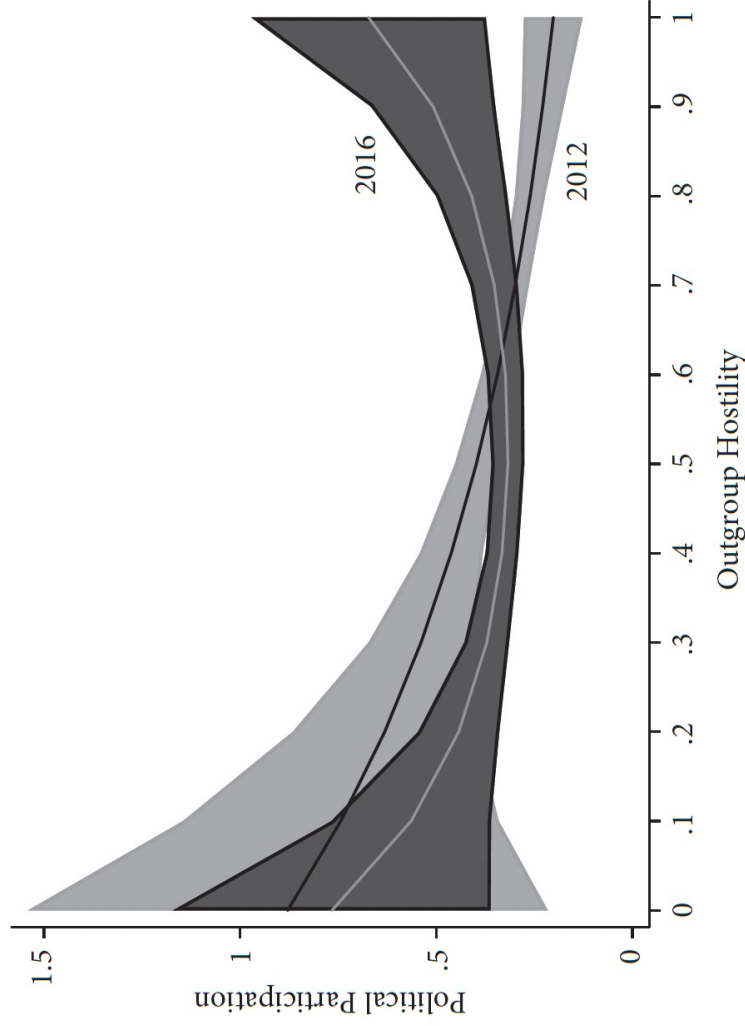
The average level of white outgroup hostility has declined since 2012. This trend has continued through 2020 (See Chapter 2, Hard White).

# From Stormfront (anonymous white nationalist):

A true leader that can unite us all has yet to be found. He may rise through the ranks of an org and lead us from there. Or he may show himself some other way. I understand the need to have a clear leader. Right now we have leaders but we lack a clear cut leader that can unite us all. . . . Who knows what fate will bring. I think that if we get active and begin to make the cause more of a community that we will have a real leader emerge and a new person will be discovered. One who can unite us and who can be turned to for true leadership and direction.<sup>24</sup>

# But white nationalists HAVE become more likely to participate in mainstream electoral politics in the Trump era

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**Figure 9.1** Relationship between outgroup hostility and political participation, 2012 and 2016

*Source:* ANES 2012 and 2016 Time Series Study